4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

payment and a man has but few live stock) have induced a real affection of husband for wife, and a rarity of divorce. This is reflected in the husband's behaviour to his wife, and in the absence of the custom found among the Nandi of letting a wife sleep with a visiting age-mate. A wife being a necessity once she has been got, a man tends to do all he can to keep her, and he treats her well, with such kindness and consideration as can be shown to an inferior, giving her all the inducements to a contented life that are within his power. Although a man may be somewhat aloof when he is at home, his general attitude and behaviour to his wife form a good example for his sons to copy.

Children then grow up under the authority of two people who are more important to them than anyone else in the horde, their father and mother. The father has authority over his wife because he provides food for her and her children by his own skill, and a primitive woman cannot exist without the support of a man; in the old days a bad wife had nowhere to go if her husband brought himself to the pitch of divorcing her, except back to her parents, who would not welcome an extra mouth to feed. Over his children a man has that authority which is based on the respect felt for a person whom they know must be obeyed. Incidents of the kind that I saw one day at the home of a man named Cesundil are not uncommon. A child was yelling outside the hut. Taprandic the mother told it to be quiet: it merely yelled louder. Cesundil then said quietly but firmly, *Sis lakuanni* (be quiet, child), and it was silent immediately.

As Evans-Pritchard has pointed out, the behaviour of father to mother must influence the attitude of a son to his mother[1]. It is the mother and other women who look after a child till nearly the age of puberty; and to-day as in the past, though the father is no longer wholly occupied in hunting and therefore much more at home, the traditional pattern still holds good. I have more than once seen a man left in charge of his small children while the mother was away and treating them in the fussy sort of way that one would expect of a man not very sure of his ground — sure of his authority, which was not being called in question, but not at all sure of his ability to deal with childish problems which the mother on her return can settle at once. It is the mother who gives the children immediate comfort and protection; she it is who teaches them the elementary rules of conduct and decency, who impresses upon them that they must obey father, because he is father, and who sees that as they grow older they help her with such small tasks as they can manage. It is to their mother that children run when hurt or frightened, and it is by her that they are nursed when ill. She thus has a large claim on their affection, but this would be reduced if they saw her disrespectfully treated by their father. On the whole, the claim is reinforced among the Dorobo by the way men treat their wives. And in old age a mother is taken care of by her son, and whereas she brought him up in his infancy, so now in her old age she

[1] Man, 1929, 148.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

arap Ruto. There were also two old women, Cesikirikat mother of Arap Mining, and Cepkatet mother of Cesundil. With these lived Cesundil's young sister Cepkoiec, aged about 15, who helped her brother's wife to look after the two children, and slept either in her mother's hut, or in the hut of Cesikirikat, eating with her mother or with Cesundil and his wife. The three men Malakuen, Kipsang, and Kimutai lived together, eating with either of the old women (contributing their share of the food), while Kipungei lived alone, eating with his mother. Cepkoiec could marry none of these young men, since they were all her clansmen. Such an arrangement seems to be quite usual when a girl has reached puberty but has not yet been circumcised. At Sosoiyo a somewhat younger girl named Cepotip lived in a small hut (*sikiroinet*) with her youngest brother Kimitei (a *Juma*). When she went visiting to the neighbouring settlement Ndoroton she stayed with women there who, when they came to Sosoiyo, slept in Cepotip's hut, the boy going out to sleep elsewhere.

Where other relatives are concerned, the age-set behaviour patterns tend to replace those of kinship, and even when people are related and within the *tiliet*, they are for practical purposes little more regarded than fellow-clansmen. Indeed, in a clan settlement, such people have more influence and effect on their neighbours' children than blood-relatives who live at a distance.

In a primitive people like the Dorobo there is little formality in the educational system, which consists largely of training in obedience, behaviour, and techniques, which are learned from the parents and others with whom the child comes into contact. These contacts are not large owing to the nature of the country and the social system, and thus the relatives with whom a child is seriously concerned are but few. This narrow range of contact must be considered in the light of such important factors as the absence of tracks through the forest, the scattering of relatives, and the abnormal shyness and suspicion of the Dorobo.

Up to the age when a child can be of some help to its parents, both boys and girls are mainly with their mother, who teaches them the business of eating and living in a hut. She corrects childish bad habits and makes them familiar with the ordinary customs and precautions of every day life that have to be observed in Dorobo surroundings. The father corrects improper behaviour towards himself and the mother.

But at the age of usefulness, which comes a little before the onset of puberty, and depends on the child's growth and intelligence, there is a division of duties between the parents. The father begins to teach his son the elements of hunting and trapping, how to make things of wood, how to skin animals, and how to use a bow and arrow, in short, how to behave like a man and do man's work. The mother teaches her daughter how to manage a home, how to look after small children, and how to perform the normal tasks of a Dorobo woman. At this stage both boys and girls are in one respect general servants of the family; they have to herd any stock their father may possess, and make themselves useful about the homestead.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

867 868 The parts played by the grandfather or grandmother, and by the father's brother and his wife are directed largely towards instruction in behaviour and morality, though a young paternal uncle may often help in teaching boys the elements of woodcraft and hunting. And although the father and mother teach their children to distinguish between right and wrong, and how to behave to their relatives, the grandparents in particular have a good deal to do with this aspect of education.

614 867 The part played by clansmen as educators is in general limited, for it depends upon the type of settlement and the number of them with whom the child is able to have contact. Where the settlement is a purely family affair there will be no clansmen immediately at hand, and it is only in clan settlements that their influence can be at all effective. At Kelpui there was in 1938 a settlement consisting of two elementary families and four unmarried clansmen; and at Ndoroton a widow with two small children could turn to five adult clansmen for help in bringing up her children, as well as to three other widows and a young girl. In such circumstances children will have more to do with clansmen than with relatives. This is very different from the Nandi, who do not live in clan settlements and among whom clansmen are much less important than relatives in these matters.

2. The Age-Set system

561 In all forms of training, a proper standard of behaviour is insisted upon, because without due attention to this, no cohesion of clan or family is possible, and hence there can be no horde solidarity. Theoretical ties of kinship cannot last if the behaviour of members towards each other is not carefully promoted and strictly regulated, and so behaviour is the keystone of social life. It must be considered not only from the point of view of a man's dealings with his relatives, but with respect to the different generations with which he comes in contact, and the effect of the age-set system on these relationships must therefore be taken into account. Age-sets and kinship rules may actually be in conflict, and so it is necessary before going any further into the subject of behaviour to see how the age-set system works among the Dorobo.

[711] [771] Age-sets, *ipinda*, plur. *ipinuakik*, are an Hamitic institution adopted by the Nandi and Masae, and borrowed from the Nandi by the Dorobo. The principle of the system is that the males of the tribe or horde are divided into a number of groups or sets of individuals whose ages all fall within certain limits, and the sets are not progressive like the age-grades or stages through which the individual passes from birth to death. Thus a Dorobo man passes through the successive stages of boy, circumcised man, and old man; and a woman through those of girl and woman. But age-sets are more than this: for a man is born into a set, and in that set he remains all his life irrespective of his age in years; women, moreover, [562] do not have age-sets, but on marriage refer to themselves as belonging to their husbands' age-sets.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

the other hand, there should be no *wwriat*, just greeting and a minimum of conversation, as between strangers. The children of his wife's brother and sister are treated as his own. A woman regards her husband's brother and sister and their spouses much as he regards her brother and sister.

When the father's mother does not live with her son, she may perhaps be in the next settlement. She will then visit her grandchildren, and they will go to see her. This interchange of visits teaches children a good deal about the treatment of important people like grandmother. Interchange of visits with the mother's mother also takes place, especially when the man is getting older. Thus, Cesikirikat the mother of Arap Mining used to visit her daughter Cesunguny who was married to a *Nyongi* called Ngueses and had three sons. She would stay a few days with her daughter (during which time Ngueses would live in another hut) and then go home. Presently Cesunguny would bring her children to see Cesikirikat, and while the children were all still young (before they had reached puberty) they slept together in Cesikirikat's hut. After reaching puberty they slept in the *sikiroinet* with Arap Ruto. Girls visiting their father's mother sleep in her hut whatever their age.

Children are generally fond of their father's mother, partly because she makes it her business to be nice to them, "for they are the children of her child, and people do not hate their grandchildren". But if they do not visit her as often as she would like and bring her presents of food, she will be annoyed and shows her anger by saying, *Sere opeku lakocu ce mooipua omituakik* ("Peace, die you children who have not brought me food"), a curse which is not dangerous because it is neutralized by the word 'peace', and because she takes care to say it in the hearing of someone who will report it to the children, when some such conversation as this will take place:

Friend:	*Kaami kapkoko amut, konereket, amu maoipcin omituakik arauek ce cau, kocupok, kole, "Sere, opekun lakocu".*	I was at Grandmother's place yesterday, and she is angry because you have not brought her food for many months, and she cursed you and said, "Peace, die, you children".
Children:	*Woi, awendi ono, eiyo! Kokocupei koko, kole, "Sere, opekun".*	Alas! where shall I go, mother? Grandmother has cursed us and said, "Peace, die!"
Mother:	*Moomuen, lakocu, mawecok koko, kocamok, a mutai kipendi olinnyin si kiipcin melekto.*	Do not be afraid, children, grandmother does not hate you, she loves you; but to-morrow we will go to her place to take her a present.
Friend:	*Weiis, miye noto, si kocam koko.*	Yes, that's the best thing to do, so as to please grandmother.
Children:	*Weiis, kepe korun, . . . Kiipcin ne, si kocam?*	Yes, let's go to-morrow, . . . What shall we take her, so that she shall be pleased?
Mother:	*Kipendi korun, si kiipcin nyanyait ok lokomek.*	We'll go in the morning, and take her some meat and some honey and water.